FELLOWSHIP

July 1945 Vol. XI—No. 7

America's War Casualties

By CHARLES IGLEHART

Lest We Forget

By MURIEL LESTER

Our War Aims in the Pacific

A STATEMENT BY SEVENTY RELIGIOUS LEADERS

Will Fear of Russia Bring Permanent Conscription?

By NORMAN THOMAS

"Wars have usually been waged . . . for the spoils of victory; increase of territory; acquisition of wealth; even glory to the victor. That lust for expansion is not yet quite dead; but the glory of conquest is departing; its gains are Dead Sea fruit; its legacy revengeful memories alone; hardening hearts; perpetuating anger, and leading on to the dreary round of renewed wars.

"We earth-dwellers are prisoners on the planet; there is no way out; so since we cannot escape from the proximity of our neighbors, it is surely better to live with them as friends than as enemies."

—FIELD MARSHAL ALLENBY (April 28, 1936).

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FROM MY STANDPOINT

John Haynes Holmes

It was John Wesley who declared that he didn't propose to let the Devil have all the good tunes. So he and his brother, Charles, the great hymn-writer, wrote splendid Christian verses and set them to the popular airs of the day. Some say that this cheapened the hymnology of the churches—perhaps it was a beginning of the low-grade "gospel hymns" that had such vogue in the last century! But the Wesleyan hymns were themselves of a high order—among them are a few of the great hymns of all time. And it was a sound instinct that set them to familiar tunes. Thus did Christian sentiment sing itself into the hearts of the people. The secular was transformed into the sacred, and the Devil made to give place to God.

I

I have been prompted to this recollection by the near approach of our national holiday, the Fourth of July. It always riles me that the celebration of this patriotic anniversary should be left in the hands of the war-makers and the war-mongers. Why should pacifists thus abandon to militarists the observance of this great day of independence? Why should we surrender to profane hands the glories of our nation's history and the symbols of its life?

I love my country exactly as I love my home, and for the same reason. It is mine, and in a very special sense since my family began living in it well over three hundred years ago. In all these years they have loved it, and served it, and preserved it. They have enriched it by their lives and sanctified it by their memories. It is true that my country has done unworthy and even wicked things. It cherished for generations the institution of slavery; it slaughtered, robbed, and otherwise misused the Indians; it fought the Mexican and Spanish wars and other wars; it has practiced political corruption and economic exploitation; it is today guilty of prejudice and pride and power. But I wouldn't want to look too closely into the record of my home in times gone by, or of my own heart, lest I find evidence of sin! None the less, my country, like my home, is bone of my bone, and soul of my soul. It is where I live, to be made lovely by my love, and true by my truth. I yield to no one my right and privilege of loyalty.

And here is my country's flag! I reverence this, as a Christian reverences the cross. Like the cross, it has been lifted many a time over scenes of shame—a battlefield where men fought for conquest, a city hall where politicians trafficked for gain, a court house where justice was bought and sold. But this flag is the sign and symbol not of what the nation is, but of what it tries to be. "What I aspired to be and was not, comforts me," wrote Browning. What the flag was intended to be, may yet be made to be, should comfort and inspire us all and dedicate us to its high service. I would not lift this flag above other flags, nor thrust it into the sanctuary of God "who hath made of one blood all nations of men." But I would keep its colors pure and lovely, and add them proudly as my country's contribution to the universal spectrum of mankind.

II

What about patriotic songs? Some of them are good, some of them not so good, one or two of them impossible. The cheap and tawdry mingles with the noble and beautiful, as it does everywhere else in human life. I could wish that among our national anthems we had one as majestic as Haydn's "Austrian Hymn," or as thrilling as Sibelius' "Finlandia." But what we have we *have*—songs that have welled up out of the heart of a people and leaped spontaneously from their lips! It seems to be the unhappy fate of such songs to be written in the war spirit, and to be remembered and sung only in wartime. They are chanted by marching armies, screamed by frantic mobs. They are used to voice savage sentiments of pride, revenge, and hate. But their original inspiration was sincere and heartfelt. Whose fault is it that they are put to basest and not to noblest uses? Why are they not sung to bless peace as well as war? Must patriotic songs, like popular tunes, be consigned always to the Devil's uses?

III

We pacifists are grossly derelict in surrendering to our opponents all the common habits, customs, folk-ways, observances, ceremonials, signs, and symbols of the people. Have we no spirit that we thus abandon what belongs to us as well as to others? Have we no imagination that we cannot dedicate these precious things to the highest aspirations of man's life? Where is our creative genius, our power of vision and idea, that we do not take this raw material of the nation's history and mold it to our purposes?

America has the noblest traditions of freedom and brotherhood in the world. The Stars and Stripes are lovely with colors of purest radiance. Our patriotic songs spring from heroic hearts that may quite as well be dedicated to peace as to war. It is time that these precious things were rescued from the ignoble work of killing and hating and destroying, and given over to the great work of God.

Recall Josephine Daskam Bacon's noble lines:

Brother, sing your country's anthem,
Shout your land's undying fame;
Light the wondrous tale of nations
With your people's golden name.
Tell your father's noble story,
Raise on high your country's sign,
Join, then, in the final glory—
Brother, lift your flag with mine!

Hail the sun of peace, new rising,
Hold the war clouds closer furled.
Blend our banners, O my brother,
In the rainbow of the world!
Red as blood, and blue as heaven,
Wise as age, and proud as youth,
Melt our colors, wonder woven,
In the great white light of Truth!

Build the road of Peace before us,
Build it wide and deep and long:
Speed the slow and check the eager,
Help the weak and curb the strong.
None shall push aside another,
None shall let another fall:
March beside me, O my brother,
All for one, and one for all!

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The men killed and injured on the battle fronts are but a slender fraction of

America's War Casualties

By CHARLES IGLEHART*

OUR NEWSPAPERS RUDELY REMIND US that American casualties have passed the million mark. That total includes dead, wounded, missing, and prisoners. We cannot grasp the meaning of these statistics in terms of actual human suffering. Yet that seems a small figure when we read reports of over 30 million casualties in the rest of the world! And this colossal total does not include the tens of millions in China, Europe, and elsewhere who have been driven from their homes and are now wanderers.

There are wounds, however, that lie deeper than the flesh. There is a death more to be dreaded than the death of the body. Between the lines of the casualty lists, if we are alert, we can read the profound words of the Master: "Be not afraid of them that kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell."

War is an impartial distributor of casualties. Who can escape? The "diseases of defeat" are easy to recognize. They lie not only in malnutrition, epidemics, or in mental derangement. They go much deeper, to hate, frustration, longing for revenge, and all the evils that are nursed in the secret thoughts of desperate men in defeat. But can anyone doubt that even we—on the home front of a winning nation—are infected with the spiritual contamination of this conflict? Even the unoffending neutral or smaller countries that suffered invasion came through with moral standards grotesquely twisted. Read the stories of the resistance movements. With all their nobility of purpose and high patriotism, and even with the exalted self-sacrifice that dared death hourly to rescue others from the doom that trailed them, there was duplicity, lying, forgery, sabotage, and murder without mercy. Many suffered wounds of the spirit that will never heal.

We, now on the threshold of victory, must think clearly about our own "diseases of victory." Some of the German death camps have been destroyed. But in others we are now incarcerating German prisoners of war. We read that they have been turned loose in the same vermin-ridden barracks from which their former victims were carried to the crematoria. They are being given the same starvation rations which called forth the condemnation of the civilized world when they were the masters. The roles in the war have been reversed, but the contagious germs are the same. Here we have a parable of what war does, and most specifically what this war is doing to us, in the deeper reaches of our lives.

As Americans we have had an unusually hateful role in the waging of the war. We have been assigned the task of blasting almost defenseless communities hundreds of miles behind the lines. What is the effect upon the character of us who have planned and carried out these "missions" of horror?

Descriptions of the experiences of our airmen reveal that it is not at all an unpleasant sensation to carry out such a task. The sublimity of the extreme elevation of the flight, the gorgeous sweep of view, or the curtain of cloud provides a kind of amnesia to the moral sense. When the bomb-bay is opened and the sleek missile swings its way toward earth, the wings are spread and the home journey begins. It is all somewhat exhilarating, according to many reports. To be sure the photographers may have to wait many hours or even days before the fire subsides sufficiently to get a good picture of the desolation left by this scientific mission, but when the maps are read and another square mile or two can be reported as blasted to oblivion, it is reported as "satisfactory," and citations are given.

Inhumanity at Its Worst

This kind of warfare does things to us all far more shattering to character than the ugly brawl of personal encounter that war used to be. In those days, though men fought like beasts, there was a code. The enemy was armed and could defend himself. There was the common denominator of mutual intent to fight, with recognized rules of the game. The impersonal, scientific dealing of death to millions without a flicker of conscience is, perhaps, the low-water mark of inhumanity reached in this war.

When German airmen wiped Coventry off the face of the earth we viewed them as sub-human, entitled only to contempt. Now what of us? The wounds to our consciences would be unbearable if we did not constantly still the pain by the usual sedatives. "Didn't they start it?" "But these are centers of production which are as much a

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part of the war effort as the army and navy." "After all, it is the quickest way to get the war over."

We would not dismiss these as mere alibis. Even though the Germans may have done the first bombing, what has that to do with our guilt? If it was evil when they started it, is it not evil when we do it with a hundredfold more intensity? Cities, too, are centers of war effort through industrial production. That is as true of Detroit as of Frankfort. But does that fact make our fliers any the less moral casualties if they can without remorse deliberately roast to death tens of thousands of women and children whose only crime is that they live near factories? Perhaps it is true that obliteration bombing may bring a people to their knees sooner, and thus save some of our lives by taking many times that number of enemy lives. But nothing could disclose more clearly than this argument our moral bankruptcy.

Our spiritual casualties have been greatest in the Pacific area. Fighting there has reached an unprecedented degree of ferocity. At the start, we attributed this to the inhumanity of the Japanese fighter. But soon our men had learned all the enemy's tricks and were beating him at his own game. We have adopted and developed the blowtorch as the ultimate in hand-to-hand fighting. Our men have been able to blast their way from Guadalcanal to Okinawa with a conspicuously top-heavy score of casualties on the other side. Sometimes the published reports of Japanese deaths have been as high as forty or fifty to one of ours.

Moreover, these flame-throwers—the new manhunting blowtorches—do not allow much chance for surrender. One dispatch during the early fighting on Okinawa reported seven thousand corpses counted and thirty-one prisoners taken. Recent papers announce that the campaign is almost over. There were 80,000 defenders of the island. What has happened to the wounded? Go back and count that score, and then ask yourself what has happened to our boys who are having to fight this kind of war?

Small wonder that mental casualties among our returning men are appalling! How can mind and heart stand the ordeal of such inhumane tasks? We take our comforting moral sedatives as we sit safely at home. "The Japs won't surrender" "They fight like animals." "Look at their record of suicides." Well, all that may be true, but that does not help the American lad who is now home on furlough in our town. He was bright, confident, and sociable when he left. Now he is spending his few precious days on leave sitting at home with his head in his hands or staring at the wall, reluctant to go out and meet any of his old friends.

Inhumanity Plus Indifference

Some of our men are worse casualties than that lad. They aren't sorry for the way the war is being fought. Sitting in a diner across from a normal-looking boy in sailor's uniform, we listen to the story he evidently wishes to tell. It is all about the sinking of a Japanese transport loaded with troops. As their ship goes down they fill the water, heads by the hundreds bobbing on the surface of the smooth sea. His story goes on: "The depth bombs take care of everybody within a couple of hundred yards. Then we go along with machine guns and look after the rest. And, say, boy, was that a pleasure!"

Another returned soldier, when asked by his pastor how he could justify a policy of annihilation, is said to have replied: "Well, Reverend, if you had a box full of cockroaches, would you let any of them get away?" If we are inclined to censure this lad for his outlook, we shall do well to recall the blatant profanity of one of our top admirals in the Pacific whose favorite term for his part in this war is "Jap-hunting." A correspondent recently describing the scene of our torch-to-cave fighting in Okinawa and the shambles left when our work was done summed up the sensation as being "pleasantly nauseating."

One of the symptoms of the callousness caused by such fighting is the occurrence of instances of desecration of the bodies of enemy soldiers, such as taking their skulls and bones as souvenirs. We believe such cases are only occasional, but they have caused a shock of revulsion among the common Japanese people, who probably are led to believe that they are the common practice of Western soldiers. The Asiatic feels a sense of awe in the presence of death, and the Japanese have a special reverence for those who have perished in battle. Under such conditions it can be understood how the Japanese might feel that they are fighting an inhuman enemy, and that self-inflicted death would be preferable to wounds or surrender.

The climax of inhumanity is being reached in the bombing of the main islands of Japan. What is its effect upon us who are pouring upon the common people of the enemy nation this torrent of hell? Generally, the public cannot follow in detail the actual operation of the new obliteration bombing. We are told merely the areas and numbers of cities visited, or tonnage of missiles, and possibly the industries affected. The human element is generally played down. But *Colliers* for June 16 carried an article, "Terror in Japan," by Mark Gayn, which takes us behind the scenes and lets us almost hear the shrieks of the children and smell the acrid fumes of burning flesh.

Some of us went through the experience of the earthquake in Tokyo in 1923. We walked with horror through the rubble of Yokohama, a city of utter destruction and death. Three weeks later the smoke still lay over Tokyo. After twenty years that memory refuses to fade. Yet that was an "act of God." The present destruction is intentional, and on an immensely larger scale. Then about a hundred thousand perished. Now we have reports that over a million are dead and more than four million are "victims" who have lost their property, homes, relatives, and perhaps their health.

The article describing Tokyo under our rain of explosives and jellied gasoline was written with complete detachment. It does not carry a trace of compassion or of self-reproach. Our President and our military authorities have given public warning that this is only a beginning of what we have in store. The "missions" which do not yet exceed 500 are to reach 1,000 soon, and the schedule is to become daily. Nearly one half of Tokyo—a city roughly the size and population of New York—still exists, after a fashion. That must be finished off, together with the other metropolitan centers of Osaka, Kobe, Nagoya, and Yokohama, and possibly secondary cities.

This is not a single irresponsible reprisal done in hot blood, such as the Nazi bombing of Rotterdam seems to have been. It is a cool, calculating national policy, behind which is geared every agency that our war-organized society

can bring to bear. We all have our names on those bombs. The blood of those mangled millions is on our hands.

Bloodthirsty Civilians

Reports persist that Japan, already palpably defeated, is crying for mercy. One of our reliable correspondents writes that the enemy is willing to agree to virtually any terms we may impose so long as the final indignity of a military conquest and occupation of the home islands may be spared her. This report is now officially denied. Whatever the truth may be, the war is to go on, with more demolition, more slaughter. Pearl Harbor was indeed dastardly, and our losses to Japan's bombs then were severe. But in a short ten days over one Japanese city, we are told, we have inflicted two hundred times as much damage—and the victims were civilians, implicated in the war only to the degree that people are in any country during war.

Here we touch something deeper even than the inhumanity of our war practices themselves. This is the attitude of us American people toward the people on the other side of this conflict. It is particularly necessary to appraise these trends of American character, since from now on the war means simply fighting the Japanese.

A Gallup poll taken in November, 1944, shows that 49 per cent of our people wish to deal punitively with *all* the Japanese people after the war, and some would consider torture a suitable measure. Thirteen per cent of the replies favor the killing of every Japanese who has survived when the war has ended! From the very first issue after Pearl Harbor our prominent news journals have played up the enemy as inhuman and bestial. One national weekly told the story of the "mop-up" operations on Saipan under the heading: "Rodent Exterminator."

Other reputable journals and magazines have featured stories of questionable truth. The author of one of these stories about the treatment of Americans in Japan was challenged by another person who had shared with him the same experiences. The reply was to the effect that those things *might* have happened and that anyway a writer had to earn a living.

Distortion of facts takes place almost every day. The case of Kagawa and his reported broadcasts is a case in point. From scattered fragments of rumor filtered through news-writers' bias, arranged and headlined for desired reading effects, there has grown up the myth that Kagawa has turned pro-war, anti-American, and presumably un-Christian; and that he has been engaged both in Japan proper and in adjacent occupied areas in questionable activities. In the interest of truth *The Christian Century* made a careful analysis of every scrap of information available and summarized the findings in the issue of June 6. When the fog has been blown away the familiar figure of Kagawa reappears without change, giving no hostages to his government, saying no word of blessing upon the Japanese policy of expansion, shocked by the inhumanity of our bombing, suspicious of international capitalism, critical of political empire, but meantime spending himself day and night in the amelioration of human suffering and the betterment of social conditions.

Hate Propaganda

It is not so easy a matter to check the truth or the bias of the newspapers, radio commentators, and others who are assigned the task of shaping our opinions. Our moving picture houses keep us drenched with hate through a steady stream of newsreel and dramatic presentations showing the sub-human nature of the Japanese. Entire bureaus of the government are devoted to this creation of war sentiment. Officers of our armed forces are continuously detailed to make eye-witness reports of the Pacific war. Naturally, no one can doubt the final authenticity of such reports, and they become the material for stereotyped community thinking.

Because some of our enemies have committed atrocities, we have made the easy carry-over to the false idea that both the German and the Japanese people are all like that. Broad and often false generalizations are everywhere being drawn. It was in this same way that the authorities in both Germany and Japan took isolated or particularly reprehensible events, incidents, and sometimes customs or traits of ours and built them up into a myth of horror to be hated and fought with all the might of their common people. That is what we are in danger of having happen to us. Indeed it *is* happening to us, and it is making all of us war-casualties.

A considerable number of our people intend that seventy-five million people of Japan shall be annihilated. To be sure, our President announced that our victory would not mean "extermination or enslavement" for these people, and we were grateful for this gesture. But this was somewhat offset by the report that the one member of the cabinet most concerned with future relations overseas, departed from his notes in a speech to ejaculate: "so far as I am concerned, if the Japanese were all exterminated it would suit me."

A Rebuke from China

In sharp contrast is the poise and balance with which the responsible people of China can still view Japan. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek repeatedly has given public utterance to the most sane and self-controlled purposes in the winning of the war and the future treatment of Japan. His attitude stands as a rebuke to the extremists among us in Christendom for our immaturity in supposing that blind hatred is the way even to win a war, much less to live with the rest of the human race. Madame Chiang Kai-shek rebuked the thirteen governors of states and the other American leaders who shared with her the stage at a New York rally of welcome. After they had poured out their vials of hate, she quietly said that though the war was to be bravely won there was to be no place for hatred or revenge. Perhaps that attitude is the reason that in China Japanese *do* surrender in defeat, and that the Chinese take considerable numbers of prisoners. Not only so, but persons who have seen them say that they carry themselves in detention with self-respect and with an evident intention of taking up normal life again when released.

The refusal to define our war aims also has a numbing effect on us. In the last war there were ringing battle-cries that could be considered an ethical challenge to effort or even to death. But no one has lifted the motivations of this war far above the mudsills of a power-struggle. We have waited in vain for any call to action which would cause us to believe that the defeat of Japan would be the prelude to lasting peace and a better world. The Atlantic Charter sounded like it, but it is far removed from the

present plane of action of the same leaders who formulated it.

Instead, we have only "unconditional surrender" as a platform on which to stand in viewing this life-and-death struggle of the world. Premier Suzuki in his address to the Diet recently said that to Japan that means "death for us all." To us it does not mean that, but it does mean moral ambiguity, frustration in any attempt to find a rationale for conduct, and discouragement for conscience. It leaves the way open for those power aggregations, massive agglomerations of capital, the giant industrial groupings, and world-embracing banking interests that are bent on the expansion of American economic power to the ends of the earth. We ordinary people in America are so unaware of the overwhelming power of our piled-up wealth that we do not realize how much feared it makes us by every nation in the world.

Behind all this is the determination of our armed forces to "hold what we have" in the form of advanced posts of American power and security all over the world. The list, given by Hanson Baldwin in *The New York Times* of May 23, of bases essential to a full exploitation of our victory represents a net thrown over almost the entire world except Europe and Africa, with American naval-land-air bases at every point where the threads cross. This is an index of the impluse to power that lies not too far beneath the surface of our seemingly noble world outlook.

One more area of weakness in our objectives which may lead to trouble is that of political alignment through Asia and the world. In Europe we could readily believe that we were lined up with the forces opposing tyranny. There the United Nations could still feel that their way of life was more free and humane than the oppressive way of the swastika. But in Asia it is the United Nations that have been on the side of tyranny. We exclude China, of course. China has for generations been the victim of some of her present allies and may still suffer from them after the war. These Western Powers have bound Asia to their chariot-wheels of empire. Military control, economic exploitation, and political subjugation have been the pattern, and still are. Because Japan once challenged this way, the countries of the East hoped she would be their champion. She has tried to supplant the Western empires by a new Eastern empire even more ruthless. Before an aroused Asia the principle of empire stands on trial.

In the conference at San Francisco we found our nation not only repeatedly ranged alongside of the British Empire and France, rulers in Asia, but actually aligned with those who refused to accept the phrase "complete independence" in the case of the subject peoples of the world, even as an ultimate objective referred to in the preamble relating to trusteeship.

Churches Also Casualties

In one profoundly deep sense the Christian church—at least the American Protestant churches, which we know best, are a casualty of the modern war system. We are living in acceptance of war. Yet at heart the Christian religion is a religion of peace, of community, of fellowship. So there is a dualism within the ranks of Protestant Christianity which makes it "live within one frame of conduct while advocating another." Thus every one who has a conscience must lean toward one or the other pole of that tragic ellipse. That is a major casualty of war.

Within this torn texture of church life there are several casualties of war. A considerable number of churches give such a prominent place to the men in service and to the American flag that the primacy of worship of God is in danger. Any recognition of the sacrifice being made by our men and women overseas is easily understood, and it is certainly in the sphere of the church to bring comfort to all who are in trouble by reason of the war. But the prominent place being given the national emblems raises serious questions. One does not need to be a Jehovah's Witness to fear the encroachment of our patriotic practices until they become a cult, a kind of American Shinto.

In Japan people do not call Shinto a religion, but only the proper civic recognition of the nation. This trend becomes a dangerous cult in wartime, gradually spreading itself all over the life of the country. It becomes the supreme religion. We have no fear of this happening in America, but it is a cause for concern when churches begin to adopt the same methods as are in vogue now in Japan, when the service is opened with the singing of the national anthem, followed by a salute to the flag. In Japan, the salute is toward the emperor's palace.

Symptoms of Recovery

On the other hand, there are many encouraging signs within the churches. In few places will one find more clear thinking about the causes of war than in some church circles. Most of the major denominations have permanent commissions studying public questions, and many have held conferences with published findings which are pioneering in matters relating to peace and world order. In most churches there is freedom of opinion, there are forums for discussion, and on the whole there is an atmosphere conducive to reasoned thinking.

The churches are maintaining their interest in the world-wide Christian mission. This constitutes a practical internationalism in terms of intimate personal and local acquaintance, of mutual loyalties and understanding that is often more effective than many treaties.

Immediately after the war there will be need for relief and rehabilitation work in the devastated areas of the earth. The Protestant churches are forward in preparation for this work of mercy as soon as the ways open. Possibly most important of all is the existence throughout the world of other branches of the Christian church with whom the church people of America are in bonds of fellowship. This may seem to be an intangible thing, and during the war there have been many barriers to normal expression of its life. But it is a fact of enormous potentiality. Some members of this worldwide family of churches are in the enemy lands, and many are cut off from one another. Yet, the war has not broken these ties. The shared experience of crisis has strengthened them.

We all are casualties in the deepest areas of our human nature and our relationships. Yet we were made for concord and for inter-community of life. That is our highest nature, and the summons of our noblest tradition, the Christian tradition. Ultimately we must return to this sanity.

Lest We Forget

"Some Japanese Christians I Have Known"

By MURIEL LESTER*

ONE SOON COMES TO APPRECIATE what Japan's temples add to its landscape. On the hilltop, or half way up, the path forks and one turns aside to follow its meanderings. Graceful wooden pylons painted vermilion mark the way towards a spacious courtyard where amid ancient pines the Shinto Temple stands, set high and open to all the light there is. White-robed acolytes go in and out, sweeping the wide verandas, taking footprints from the sandy ground or tending the branch of some tree damaged by a recent gale. Symmetry must always be restored. One can rest in the Temple or under the trees. The quiet orderliness, as much as the beauty, evokes prayer and meditation. Buddhist monasteries have the same attraction. Many a statesman or high official has retired to these remote sanctuaries after a long spell of public life. It is still an accepted custom thus to cleanse one's mind from the dust of busy action, to refocus one's attention, concentrated too long on contemporary happenings, to an outlook on Reality. Even in the city's narrow, ugly streets the Temple will generally assure the presence of a tree or two, often the only things in sight not made ugly by industrialism.

It comes as a contrast when one visits the place where the Christians meet for worship. It is locked up most of the week. There is no tree planted, but perhaps a nondescript, dusty privet hedge. Its architecture is astounding to a Japanese. It is a copy of the copies of Gothic that erupted over Victorian England in the last century. It has twiddles and twists and circles and dots, all of cast iron, for decoration. But explore inside it and you find spiritual riches beyond the experience of most of us.

During the last ninety years the Church of Christ in Japan has spread into every class; produced its own type of mystic, poet, and passionate social reformer; helped to form trade unions; spread co-ops over the country; set up hospitals and schools; trained statesmen, scientists, Salvation Army generals; altered the pattern of life for field worker, slum dweller, and farmer. Perhaps its chief accomplishment has been the development of the Japanese pastor, a man of pure gold, undowered by any special gift, but faithful to God and his fellows in foul weather and fair. Christians number less than five per cent of the population, but their influence is proportionately much greater.

One old frail man, just regathering strength after a long illness, got up from bed to welcome me to Japan as an emissary of reconciliation. Maeterlinck's word might describe him, "with his steadfast face and eyes that lit up all he looked upon." Afterwards I heard about his life. As an ignorant 14-year-old boy working in a factory he entered a church one Sunday evening, not knowing what it was. Light and warmth were valuable things he couldn't ordinarily afford. One of the early missionaries was preaching Christ. The boy was fascinated. Week after week he came. No one took much notice of him. Soon he shyly approached the foreigner, saying he wanted to be one of Christ's men. He was told to come for regular instruction during the week, but he could not, as he was free only on Sundays. After some months he told the missionary again of his great desire to be baptized. Again no procedure seemed available. A week or two later he felt he could delay no longer. He was confident enough of God's wisdom now to put the matter completely into His hands.

He would let the rain from heaven baptize him while he repeated the correct formula, himself, aloud. The factory where he worked had a bit of flat roof which few folk ever visited. The next time it began to rain he left his machine, climbed the stair, took off hat and coat and knelt bareheaded. When he went down to his job again, he knew himself vowed to full service and devotion. His gifts developed and enriched the church. A nobleman's daughter noticed his power, realized his need for education, and helped him obtain it. Eventually they married. Their children grew up to identify themselves cheerfully with the wretched and despised of Tokyo; shared their home life with diseased prostitutes; are making history inside Japan today.

Not long ago a robber broke into a Christian social settlement in a slum area at midnight, disturbed from her sleep a young helper, threatened her with his gun, and demanded all the money she could lay hands on. Having learned to practice the presence of God, she calmly told the man that she could not do that, for the money was not hers to give. She offered him a shilling, all that she herself possessed at the moment. This quiet reaction to a threat may have put the thief off his stroke, robbed him of his confidence a little. Anyhow, he failed to effect his escape, and was arrested. Giving evidence before the magistrate, one of the police was so impressed by the robber's story that he called the next day at the settlement and asked the superintendent for instruction in the Christian way. It seemed to ensure a courage he coveted for himself. He became a doughty champion of the Church.

A dentist was sent to prison for six months for speaking disrespectfully of the Emperor's divine ancestor. When he got back to his practice his first visitor was the jailer who came to beg him to visit his home and heal his tuberculous daughter. The dentist explained his inability to play a doctor's part, but the jailer didn't want that. He had watched his ward's behavior for six months and deemed it obviously the result of some inner power, some contact with an unseen God greater than all disease.

The word pastor means something new to me since staying with a Japanese couple in the country. The man was not only a Samurai, but came of a family held in the highest honor throughout the nation. His grandfather had helped the Emperor to save the country in one of its crises. A brilliant future was assured this man. His intellectual power, artistic gifts, his love of music and drama had been

* Founder of Kingsley Hall settlement house in London's East End, Miss Lester has traveled to the Orient four times. She last visited Japan in 1938, as Secretary of the International FOR.

developed in the capital city. But, having found Christ, he put his life at the disposal of the Church and was sent to a remote city, where no one had heard of the gospel. It meant being wholly cut off from cultured society and having to live on such a tiny salary that he and his wife often lay awake at night wondering how to feed their children. Surely a Buddhist begging bowl would be more dignified than such scrimping and maneuvering, such intense concern over halfpennies! He and his wife felt themselves compelled to follow a technique that was repellent to them. She walked, ringing a bell, and he banging a drum, down the chief streets of the town, shouting out an invitation to all citizens to come to the market place where the Truth would be expounded in the open air. Soon a sincere and self-disciplined group of Christians was making its impact on the prejudices, the ignorance, and the disease of the city.

After ten years a letter came from a brothel keeper saying she had been listening to their teaching and was moved thereby, and asking if she might have instruction. So twice a week the pastor and his wife went in a ricksha to her quarter of the town and gave her the teaching. Gradually she faced all it would mean to change her business. She realized she must provide for all her girls and offer them alternative work. After some months, when baptism seemed not far off, the pastor received a letter from Tokyo, offering him the care of one of the leading churches there. This would mean almost everything to his children, his wife, and himself. Unfortunately the move, if he accepted, must be made within the next few weeks. The letter stressed that point. And the brothel keeper was not yet ready for baptism. Even if that could be hurried on, she would need support and confirmation in the faith for some months to come. He sent a letter of refusal, and no further offer came his way.

School for Joy

While still in her teens, the daughter of a Samurai, Mrs. Hani came to hear about a school some strange foreigners were opening, a school for girls, where one lived as though at home. Incredible and wonderful, it seemed to her. But her parents considered it vulgar and subversive, the sort of thing that only those ignorant white people would suggest. Imagine uprooting a young girl from her home before marriage! But the 16-year-old daughter would not let the matter drop. Gradually she wore down her father's resistance. It seemed that several good Samurai families were friendly with these foreigners. Some had even adopted their religion. Eventually she induced her father to take her to see the school, a three-weeks journey by ricksha. The teachers appeared quite uncivilized, ignorant of the simplest rules of politeness, her father thought. But there was something about them. One could feel it. Crude and unpolished though they were, they were also obviously kindled with light, enthusiasm, and joy. He left his daughter to be enrolled as their first pupil. A month passed before there was a second.

Having finished the course as a good scholar and a devoted Christian, there seemed only one thing for her to do—to start a school of her own. She did, and it is now a famous institution with hundreds of students. It seemed to me while staying there that art, music, handicrafts, physical culture, and intellectual study were equally enriching the common life of the students. Its keynote was Christian joy.

Another girl's school reflects this same joy. The girls worked with a will to make clothes and collect money for their Chinese brothers and sisters made homeless by Japanese arms. They gave me £3 to give to any needy ones whom I should come across in India. I handed the money to Rajagopalachari for his work among the Untouchables. He handed it back with some asperity, saying, "This ought to go to the Chinese."

"Oh! Sir!" exclaimed a Japanese who was present, "Our girls have been sending help to them regularly for years past."

Grass Roots of Co-operatives

These are the sort of Japanese who came into contact with their fellow Christians from other countries in conferences, committees, and councils; who kept in touch with liberalizing movements and modern educational methods; who themselves did pioneer work in nursery schools, YWCA's and settlement houses. These are expensive activities to run, but by dint of teachers living in severe hardihood they were widely developed. How cold it was in the big office of one headmistress I visited! She brought me a box of charcoal and put it close to my feet. It helped me, but I do not believe she had a second one.

The inmates of a leper colony seemed to me among the happiest people I saw in Japan. The patients have their own cottages. Christians do the nursing, run the educational program, and by the alchemy of loving kindness have evoked a miracle of contentment.

The co-operative movement inspired by Dr. Kagawa has brought new life to village and town alike, and is run by Christians. The Credit Co-operatives, Farmers' Co-operatives, the Mid-day Meal Co-operatives, all belong to the people, some of whom are so poor that it took them over two years to save the ten shillings which is the price of a share in the Co-operative Hospital. But when one owns such a place, with how much more confidence can one face illness and accident! These doctors are their own, the matron is their own, the nurses too. Better still it is to run one's own pawnshop. No more need one cringe or feel ashamed. In any sudden need one can walk in, head held high, hand over one's pledge, and accept the necessary loan without fear of prolonged indebtedness.

It is a good omen that the last twenty years have seen both in China and Japan the same sturdy development of this people's movement. Its humble beginnings lie far back in remote village areas. Some missionary on his travels while eating his midday rice at the tea-house, might politely enquire of the farmers, sipping their fragrant cups, how life was going on in their village. They would tell him of the water shortage and soon they would be engaged in a general discussion on the need of a new well, the latest method of well-digging, its excellent regulation, and its cost, which was beyond their means. The missionary then might courteously ask if they had heard of the co-operative way of raising the necessary money through credit societies. They would listen attentively, note the address of the co-operative nearest to them, perhaps only 100 miles away. The following year the traveler visiting that village would find the new well.

With the war in Europe over, do we now intend to devastate Japan and annihilate her people? Here is a plea for an official declaration of

Our War Aims in the Pacific

A STATEMENT BY SEVENTY LEADING MINISTERS AND EDUCATORS

THE EUROPEAN WAR HAS ENDED, not only in the overthrow of Hitler's rule, but also in the utter ruin of Germany itself. Statistics are completely inadequate to measure the cost of the war and of the reconstruction of Europe. Must the Asiatic war be fought to the same sort of end? Unquestionably the United States and its allies can win such a war. Japanese defeat is already obvious and certain; her ruin can be made more complete than that of Germany.

But consider the cost. No one can estimate how many more women and children will be burned alive in the bombing of her cities. Her soldiers fight with fanatical courage. Such resistance as they have offered in Guadalcanal, Tarawa, Saipan, Iwo Jima, and Okinawa will drag tens, perhaps hundreds of thousands of our own sons to agonizing death. In this sort of war, it is not only men but ideals of mercy and kindness which perish.

The press has stated, from Japanese sources, that American raids from March first to the middle of April in the four Japanese cities, Tokio, Osaka, Nagoya, and Kobe, had destroyed 770,000 homes and made 3,140,000 disaster victims.* More recently the papers tell almost daily of large scale massacres as American raids have continued with intensified fury. This bombing and burning of defenseless women and children in the densely crowded cities of Japan cannot be so "effective" in military terms as to justify itself in terms of humanity and the future peace of the world.

However far our military leaders may carry their policy of destruction, they know that the 75,000,000 people of Japan cannot be annihilated. The announcement of such an objective is intended to increase the effectiveness of the war's prosecution. But, even carried to its worst extreme, it will leave a residue of many millions who must somehow be integrated into the structure and pattern of peace.

The current campaign of organized hatred, involving the denunciation of the entire Japanese people as bestial and depraved, is the denial of the divine spirit in man, and of the brotherhood of man. Out of our deepest convictions rises the assurance that the Japanese are not all entirely evil; that there are millions of men and women of good will in Japan, misled perhaps, but wanting the good life for all; men and women who are a necessary foundation stone in the structure of world peace. Such a peace cannot be built on mutual distrust, on fear and hatred.

The only sound alternative to this policy of hatred and destruction so costly in American lives, is the clear and immediate formulation of American objectives, a statement by our government of the conditions of surrender, and an effort to put a stop to the campaign of vilification which, great as may be the provocation in war's atrocities, has gone beyond all bounds of reason and humane understanding.

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E. RAYMOND WILSON
REV. WILLIAM LINDSAY YOUNG

* *World Telegram*, April 24, 1945.

Will Fear of Russia Bring Permanent Conscription?

By NORMAN THOMAS*

IF CONGRESS SHOULD ADOPT peacetime military conscription within the next few months the decisive factor in that decision will be the growing fear and suspicion of the Soviet Union. But our adoption of conscription would fan the flames of that fear and suspicion, would inspire a corresponding attitude in Russia, and would thus increase the likelihood of war.

If peacetime military conscription is advantageous in modern war—a matter on which many military experts are very doubtful—Russia would benefit enormously more by it than we. Conscription fits her totalitarian system and she has a population and a birthrate that we cannot equal. If the military race depends upon conscription we shall lose.

These statements may seem extreme. Actually they are well within the facts. I do not deny that some men sincerely want conscription who also want peace with Russia and who will strenuously deny that they are motivated by fear of Russia. There are, of course, many factors behind the drive for peacetime conscription: the irrational emotions that war breeds; an even more irrational hangover of fear that somehow the Germans or Japanese can by themselves start a new world war; the desire of military officials for jobs, promotion, and prestige; and the even more dangerous economic urge to use conscription, competitive militarism, and imperialism as forms of boondoggling to alleviate unemployment for the many and to win profits for the few in a sick society. But months of intensive study convince me that these things could not possibly put over conscription except for the Russian situation.

The hearings of the Woodrum Committee strikingly illustrated my point. On the second day of the hearings which were opened by the testimony of Under Secretary of State Joseph Grew *The New York Times* reported: "Several witnesses asserted that postwar training was essential as a protection against a possible war with Russia, and Representative Allen, Republican of Illinois, a committeeman, read a statement saying that the testimony of the last two days had already convinced him that such was the case."

I am writing this before spokesmen for the Army and Navy have testified. I presume that they will repudiate any possible hostility to Russia, as indeed Secretary Stimson has already done in a somewhat different connection. It is quite possible that they will take Mr. Grew's line and talk about peacetime conscription as a condition for fulfilling our obligation to the new association of nations.†

This in itself is so dishonest a statement as to warrant suspicion that it covers other motives. The arrangements for international security as projected at San Francisco are very unsatisfactory, but ostensibly even they look to some reduction of armaments. They will be rendered futile if instead there is the kind of armament race that our adoption of peacetime conscription would bring to pass.

The State Department ought to know the old maxim of military theorists that war is an extension of foreign policy and diplomacy. It certainly knows how suspicion of Russia is growing and it ought to be moving heaven and earth to establish a policy appropriate to peace. Yet its acting head encourages peacetime conscription on the basis of an outrageous misrepresentation of the military situation under this new association of nations. Insofar as his testimony was relevant at all, it was relevant some eight years ago, and at that time it was not given. It is incredible that a man of Mr. Grew's experience does not realize that there can be no new world war unless the two powers that are stronger than the rest of the world put together, the USSR and the USA, are on opposite sides. One or other of them may not at first be an active belligerent, but in no near future can any group of powers successfully start large-scale war without encouragement from one or the other of them.

What ought to be done is obvious. We ought to be proposing to our Russian ally, who is also already our rival, that the real interest of both countries and the world would be served if we jointly would take the lead in persuading the nations to accept a universal ban on peacetime military conscription and to undertake progressive disarmament. These are among the conditions of any successful plan of international security. Stalin himself proposed them less than twenty years ago, and for the sake of the rapid rebuilding of his own country he might agree to them now. He is consenting to a San Francisco charter which specifically enjoins the Security Council to formulate "plans for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments."

I am not talking about an easy prevention of war or one that can be applied as a sole cure for the sickness of the world. Relations between the United States and Russia are bound to be difficult. The fault is not all on one side. Some of the American opposition to Russia is due to a very selfish fear that socialism *is* working.

The answer is not appeasement. It is certainly not to bribe Stalin into a war with Japan, fought on the present terms of annihilation with the result that he and the Communist Party will be the only victors and can exploit at will Asiatic bitterness against Anglo-American imperialism. The first big step toward avoiding a third world war is to show a capacity to lay down terms which will end this war on a basis that will encourage friendly co-operation between the Japanese and other Asiatic peoples and the rest of the world. That being done, we shall be in a better position to propose the world-wide renunciation of conscription to Stalin.

If, on the other hand, we insist on enacting peacetime conscription now, we shall have gone very far to fasten on Russia and the world the attitudes and policies which will lead straight to the most stupid, appalling, and devastating war in the long history of man's folly.

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* For many years leader of the Socialist party. Popular radio and platform speaker, and author of several books.

† EDITOR'S NOTE: As we go to press, Army and Navy spokesmen have, as Mr. Thomas predicts, testified that conscription is a necessary condition for the fulfillment of our obligation to a new world organization. However, they avoided any reference to Russia. In view of Mr. Thomas' assertion about the probable belligerents in another war, these statements are enlightening:

Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz: "Unless the American people are willing to risk witnessing the devastation of our coastal cities as Warsaw, Berlin, Manila and Tokyo have been devastated, enactment of this legislation is imperative."

Secretary of the Navy Forrestal: "We are going to fight any international ruffian who attempts to impose his will on the world by force."

In this short story a Negro learns that most people don't mean what they sing

"Let Freedom Ring"

By JAMES HUMPHREY and GALE NUTSON*

DENVER JOHNSON moved wearily in his seat in the darkened Lyric Theater. He had arrived early to avoid calling attention to himself. His shoulders ached, and the ebony skin on the backs of his hands twitched involuntarily as they rested on the dark wood of the arm rests. He sighed deeply and silently and rubbed his shoulders into the curve of the leather covered seat. He was tired, and worried.

The last scene of the film "The White Cliffs of Dover" faded, and the music dropped. In the pause that followed, Johnson looked at the people going and coming around him. He was a Negro—a single black atom in a world of white atoms. He slid lower into his seat, but more for a want of comfort than humility.

Through the seemingly interminable previews of coming attractions Johnson sat quietly. He did not again look at his neighbors, but wished that he had not come.

When the battle of the Marianas splashed on the screen, Denver leaned forward and swept the scenes with a discerning eye. His long, bony fingers clutched on the arms of the seat, the cords stood out just a little from the backs of his hands. The flickering light from the screen played once or twice on a trace of fine perspiration that stood out from his high, black, polished forehead. The "canned" battle sounds were unleashed in the theater darkness, only slightly diminished in volume it seemed. The shifting, shattering light hurt the eyes. Johnson did not turn from it, but peered deeper into the welter of the war.

As swiftly as they had appeared the battle scenes ended and here and there a faint house light was turned on. From the pit a five-piece orchestra struck up the "Star-Spangled Banner." Hesitantly at first a few, and then in greater numbers the audience rose to their feet. But Denver Johnson remained in his seat. He took his hands from their resting place on the seat arms and folded them in his lap. He inclined his head ever so slightly.

As the voice of the audience paused between bars of the anthem, the tall man in the seat behind Johnson leaned over and spoke harshly into his ear, "Come on, get up! This is the national anthem."

Denver half-turned to the man and spoke in a low voice, but the words at that distance were lost in the sudden crescendo of sound. Denver turned his head down toward his hands. He studied them carefully. His lips formed themselves around the words of the song, but his mind was very far away.

Again in a lull in the volume of sound the harsh voice crackled in his ear: "Damn you, get up! You niggers are all alike. You don't appreciate what we've given you!" The words were emphasized by a rough hand grasping his shirt at the shoulder, twisting it and thrusting him forward. A man at his left pushed him and cursed. A fat woman in front of him turned at the commotion, sized up the situation and slapped his face. From all sides in quick succession came blows, curses, and calumny against his race.

Johnson turned appealingly from one to the other and attempted to make his voice heard above the music and the voice of the mob around him. He tried again and again until the tears came and his voice choked.

Then he was on the floor between the rows of seats, his arms protecting his face and head. He mumbled brokenly to himself when the hard pointed shoes cracked into his hands and shoulders.

As the music sank on the last few measures, an usher in natty uniform and shining buttons with a small flashlight hurried up the aisle.

"What's the trouble here?" The beam of his flash swung on the circle of irate patriots, their flushed faces concentrated on the still form of the Negro on the floor under the seats. The hard cone of whiteness picked him out as he lay there. It played on his form briefly.

A voice several seats away mumbled, "He wouldn't stand up when they played the national anthem!"

The usher flung the words back at the voice: "You damn fool! Didn't you see him come in on his cart? He hasn't any legs!"

The crowd was queerly, pathetically, ashamedly silent.

Denver Johnson, Negro, answered slowly. There was something horribly beaten in his voice: "That's right, Mister. I haven't any legs. I lost them in North Africa about a year ago."

HAND-TO-HAND COMBAT

By Martha Hazzard Mayer

Which man will stand of these two?
Which pulsing, quivering column of prayer?
Which remembered lover?
Which eyes will darken with death when the wound cries out?
Which man go sprawling like some monstrous insect on the uncaring ground?
Which man will stand, staring at the slow fire of blood he helped to kindle, and feel a strange defeat?

Which man?

Which child of God?

* Assignees at CPS Camp No. 42, Wellston, Michigan.

CPS Men to Be Released Six Months After War Ends

Six months after the conclusion of the war, CPS will be ended and all men will be discharged, regardless of the number of men still remaining in the armed forces for occupation service. Selective Service adds to this cheering information the news that CPS men will not be placed in any reserve status and will have no further legal obligation to the government.

Starting in August, a point plan similar to the Army's demobilization program will sift out 10 per cent of the men, to be released before the war ends. Men will be discharged on this basis:

One point for each month of service or fraction thereof; twelve points for each child born prior to May 12, 1945; and three points for a wife, provided the marriage occurred before May 12, 1945. No man will be eligible for this release plan who has been assigned to a camp or work project less than one year. One point will be deducted for each day's absence without leave, also one point for each day of refusal to work.

No specific number of points has been named as the necessary number for release. Discharge will simply go to the men who have the highest number of points. A draft board in Union, N. J., has denounced this release plan as "contemptible" with this country "still at war," but Selective Service says criticism otherwise has been meagre.

Middletown Unit

Some months ago the Middletown Connecticut State Hospital CPS Unit, where there was a strong local of the CPS Union, voted in favor of abolition of AFSC sponsorship of the unit. The majority wished to deal directly, in what they regarded as a more democratic fashion, with Selective Service and with state and hospital authorities.

Recently considerable excitement was stirred up over the announced decision of Selective Service to dissolve this unit. For a time it was feared that the men who had voted to continue AFSC would be given opportunity for transfer to other hospitals or to special service units, but that the others would have no choice except to go to some government-managed camp or to return to a unit under religious agency direction.

At its meeting in May the FOR National Council took the position that just as men ought to have a choice between government-managed and religious agency-managed camps, a similar choice with respect to special service projects ought to be provided.

As we go to press, the indications are that the plan to dissolve the Middletown Unit has been abandoned and that it will operate as a government-managed project.

Talents Misused

The Friends' report on their experience with CPS concludes that a flaw of CPS was the government's clinging to the old CCC pattern of job assignments. Projects designed for CCC enrollees who usually had little training or experience, were turned over to CPS men, 38 per cent of whom are professionally trained.

As a result, "one of the country's leading physicists, an authority on the electron microscope, cleared forest trails for over a year and is now a ward attendant in a mental hospital . . . a public health engineer, formerly with the US Public Health Service, has been chopping trees and loading gravel."

Plan Fall Conferences

FOR members will want to be on the look-out for regional conferences now being planned for the fall. In all probability the conferences will be held on the following dates. (Further information may be obtained from the regional secretaries whose addresses are listed below).

Middle Atlantic region: Philadelphia. Sept. 21-23. James Bristol, Rm. 900, 1831 Chestnut St., Philadelphia 3, Pa.

Middle West region: on week-ends in September, probably in Detroit, St. Louis, Des Moines, or Omaha. Emerson Schwenk, Rm. 601, 740 Rush St., Chicago 11, Ill.

Southern region: Oct. 5-7. Nashville. Constance Rumbough, 1804 Grand Ave., Nashville 4, Tenn.

Rocky Mountain region: Denver. Oct. 12-14. Margaret Stewart, 440 E. 13th Ave., Denver 3, Colo.

Pacific Northwest region: Oct. 19-21. Mary Farquharson, 4033 University Way, Seattle 5, Washington.

Northern California: Oct. 26-28. San Francisco. Louise Jensen, 2151 Vine St., Berkeley 7, California.

Southern California: Nov. 2-4. Los Angeles. Louise Rounds, 3302 S. Grand Ave., Los Angeles 7, Calif.

A. J. Muste expects to attend the southern, Rocky Mountain, and various Pacific Coast conferences. Nevin Sayre will be back from his summer trip to Puerto Rico to report at other conferences.

McDaniel Dies in Fall

James F. McDaniel, who was a member of the FOR field staff before being sentenced as a CO to the Federal Correctional Institution in Ashland, Ky., recently, in the course of his work as a parolee at the University of Michigan hospital at Ann Arbor, died by falling down an elevator shaft. We cannot better convey Jim's spirit and the loss we have sustained than in these words of Ralph Galt who served with Jim as an inmate nurse at Ashland:

"Jim was so careful and conscientious in his work that the prison doctor gave him a responsible place in the operating room and often called him to be special night nurse for serious cases. Jim was probably the best-loved of all the nurses by the patients. Entirely beyond his duties, he daily visited the patients in the hospital rooms . . . He showed a beautiful spirit of unselfish service (and) won the respect and love of those who learned to know him in all classes of the prison population — doctors, guards, convicted bootleggers, thieves, embezzlers, and pacifists."

New Puerto Rico Bill

The problem of Puerto Rico's political status came one step nearer solution with the recent introduction of the Tydings-Pinero Bill in the United States Senate and House of Representatives.

The new bill differs from the bill originally introduced by Senator Tydings in that it outlines plans for granting Puerto Rico independence, statehood, and "dominion status," and for permitting the voters of the island to decide which plan shall be put into effect.

This bill has received the approval of the Puerto Rican Senate and is patterned after the Philippines bill. It seems unfortunate that one of its three alternatives should be called "dominion status" and thus imply that the United States might maintain an imperialistic role in the island. "Territorial status" would be better.

If this bill becomes law in its present form, the wording may result in influencing many Puerto Ricans to vote for either independence or statehood rather than for dominion status.

Discusses Imperialism

A suggestion that the FOR should undertake a new type of Christian mission after the war in non-Christian areas, centering effort on helping the people of a country to solve their pressing social problems, was made by Horace G. Alexander, lecturer on international relations at Woodbrooke College, England, and author of *India Since Cripps*. Speaking at an informal luncheon, and also at a supper meeting of the New York FOR in June, Professor Alexander discussed the world-wide problems of imperialism.

He declared that the British government should set a provisional date for the full self-government or independence of India as the United States had done in the case of the Philippines. He asserted that if the people of the West would help raise the economic standard of living for peoples of the East and of Africa, it would greatly reduce political tension.

French Pacifist Escapes Nazis

Jacques Martin, who in 1932 served a year in prison for refusing service in the French military reserve, is safe and busy after a hair-breadth escape from a firing-squad in June, 1944. Martin's trial as a conscientious objector was unusual because in 1927, after studying for the ministry, he had accepted military service, under family pressure, at the price of great personal torment. In 1932, while he was secretary of the Fédération Française des Associations chrétiennes d'Etudiants, he was called for service again. This time he took a clear stand against it.

His trial was marked by the warmth of testimony for him by many who did not agree with him. One associate stated: "Jacques Martin has always lived with complete absence of concern for himself, preoccupied only with others. (He is) a man of great heart and absolute dedication."

A letter from Allen D. Hole, now on a mission abroad for the American Friends Service Committee, tells how Martin survived the perils of the occupation:

"During the war Jacques Martin assisted in the procuring of food for certain groups of the Maquis. He was arrested in June, 1944, by French cooperating with the Germans.

"At the time of the arrival of the allies, the Germans said they would kill all the prisoners in this particular group rather than free them. The town where the prison was located was desperate for food, however, and the prefect negotiated with the Maquis for 3,000 sheep and asked what the Maquis wished in return. They wanted Jacques Martin! The prefect sent for him in prison. Two hours later all the other prisoners were executed before the arrival of the Allies. Jacqueline (his wife), away to the north, heard that all prisoners were executed . . . . Three weeks later Jacques walked in alive and unharmed."

Parcels to Europe

Food packages sent to FOR members and their friends in Europe are being received joyfully, according to a post card from the wife of Philippe Vernier in Belgium. Herbert Jehle, 63 Wendell St., Cambridge, Mass., is now working on this project. Addresses of families abroad and information about sending packages, may be obtained from him.

As we go to press it is reported that more than 200 parcels have been sent from people in 38 states.

Jottings

"Enclosed is one mark, the only kind of money I have, for the pamphlet *The Case Against Peacetime Compulsory Military Training* by Roscoe S. Conkling," wrote an American private first class from Germany, to the literature department of the FOR. His order was filled, with pleasure.

* * *

A veer in the judicial line set by the historic Macintosh decision which ruled that applicants for naturalization must swear to bear arms for this country, is hinted in a decision by the Boston District Court. James Girouard, a Seventh Day Adventist who was unwilling to take the oath about bearing arms, was admitted to citizenship anyway.

The government has appealed to the Circuit Court of Appeals and the case "will undoubtedly be taken to the United States Supreme Court." That would squarely challenge the validity of the Macintosh decision. Meanwhile the Immigration Department is holding all petitions for naturalization which involve this prickly point.

In line with the policy of decentralization and the stimulation of regional and local initiative, an FOR regional office for the Middle Atlantic States will be opened about Sept. 1, with James E. Bristol in charge.

He will continue as secretary of the Philadelphia FOR group and of the Philadelphia Council for COs, devoting half time to the regional work. However, he will have the able assistance of Catherine Juram who will serve as office secretary for these various organizations.

* * *

Fifth and sixth grade pupils in Albany public schools have been using a textbook, *The Old World and Its Gifts,* which tells them that the Japanese are "a clean, alert, intelligent people." Worse, it explains that Japan acquired new land "because it is almost impossible for so many people to make a living on their small islands."

Clearly, something had to be done about it. School Superintendent John W. Park pondered, "This is a fine book" . . . "We would prefer to have the teachers say 'That is what we thought of Japan in 1939 but not today' —but . . ." Then he hit on a solution. The books were saved. But the unfashionable pages have been neatly stapled together.

* * *

The exemption of the clergy, only group left beyond reach of the long arm of Selective Service, came up for question when President Truman vetoed a bill that would have deferred a large number of agricultural workers. *Christian Century* mused on "the wide divergence of this special exemption from the democratic idea of equality of citizenship." The editorial continued: "The exemption of the clergy departs . . . from the Christian conception of the minister as one who seeks no special privilege but shares all his people's burdens."

* * *

A Conference on the Ethical and Religious Foundations for International Community will be held July 21-29 in Saanen, Switzerland, under the leadership of F. Siegmunde-Schultze. On the six week days there will be lectures and discussions, and the two Sundays will be spent in fellowship between the members of the conference and the local community of Saanen. It is expected that the gathering will include persons from a dozen or more European countries.

* * *

Learning by living will be the emphasis of the Circle Pines School of Cooperation at Cloverdale, Mich., which starts Oct. 1. Open to students of either sex, and any race, color or creed, who are at least 18 years of age or graduates of high school, it will aim to demonstrate the advantages of co-operative living and of meeting human needs through the use of creative imagination based on practical experience. $10 a week will cover board, room, and tuition, and scholarships are offered. For further information, apply to the director, Dr. David E. Sonquist.

* * *

Shades of the Ku Klux Klan stirred again in Trenton, N. J., on May 19 when flames mysteriously leaped into the night sky. They came from a six-foot cross made of two-by-fours wrapped in kerosene-soaked burlap bags, which was set on fire at the site of a proposed Negro housing project.

* * *

After censorship of his letters, and brutal treatment by prison guards, John Kellam, CO sentenced to the Federal Correctional Institution at Milan, Mich., began fasting on May 26. On June 5 he stopped drinking water and on June 8 was admitted to hospital segregation in a dehydrated condition. He is now being force-fed, and is taking a position of complete non-co-operation. Kellam formerly worked for the City Planning Commission in Toledo, Ohio. His wife, Carol, works for the Friends Committee on National Legislation in Washington.

The Peacemaker's Bookshelf

Hopeful Pessimist

The Yogi and the Commissar. By Arthur Koestler. The Macmillan Co. 247 pages. $2.75.

This book seems to me a "must" item for pacifists and for all who want to keep abreast of current thinking about the general dilemma which Western civilization confronts and certain important specific topics such as Russia and the Communist movement.

The author is already known as a first-rank novelist and thinker through such works as *Darkness At Noon* and *Arrival and Departure.* He was born in Budapest in 1905 of Hungarian-Austrian parents. He has farmed in Palestine, sold lemonade in Haifa, assisted an Arab architect and edited a weekly in Cairo. He has been a newspaper correspondent in Russia and Spain and is at present in the Near East. He has been confined in a concentration camp, has fought with the Loyalists in Spain and in the French and later the British army in the World War.

A long section of the book, nearly half, is devoted to Russia and the Communist movement under the chapter-headings, "Anatomy of a Myth," "Soviet Myth and Reality," "The End of an Illusion." Here in brief space by a writer of the Left formerly very close to the Communists, is a statement of the original Communist-Soviet ideals and what has become of them. There are many specific documented facts about forced labor, the restoration of inheritance, discrimination in favor of the rich, the lack of any opposition organization and press, which are indispensable for current discussion. Koestler's conclusion as to what we have now in Russia is: "Soviet Russia is a state-capitalistic totalitarian autocracy. It is progressive in its economic structure and repressive in every other respect. Politically, culturally, in the relations between rulers and ruled, it is reactionary compared with the capitalist democracies."

His statement of the reason for the deterioration which took place is thus summarized: "The Russian Revolution has failed to create a new type of human society in a new moral climate. The ultimate reason for its failure was the arid nineteenth century materialism of its doctrine. It had to fall back on the old opiates because it did not recognize man's need for spiritual nourishment."

The book includes several brilliant essays dealing with literary themes and the experiences of sensitive spirits in the war. They all have a bearing upon the central theme of the book, which is of crucial importance for religious pacifists today and which is dramatically suggested by the reference to the Yogi and to the Commissar in the book's title.

To quote: "The Commissar believes in change from without. He believes that all the pests of humanity, including constipation and the Oedipus complex, can and will be cured . . . by a radical reorganization of the system of production and distribution of goods." On the other hand, the Yogi believes in the sole efficacy of change from within, "that the End is unpredictable and that the Means alone count . . . that nothing can be improved by exterior organization and everything by the individual effort from within; and that whoever believes in anything else is an escapist."

Koestler believes that what is wanted is a "synthesis between saint and revolutionary; but so far this has never been achieved." Compromise, yes, but not synthesis.

The immediate post-war future is, he believes, still in the control of the Commissars of the Right and the Left. We shall probably still be living for some time in an interregnum, a period of "transitory chaos which follows the collapse of the traditional values of a civilization." But a "spiritual spring-tide like early Christianity or the Renaissance" will come in presently. What is needed in the meantime is "an active fraternity of pessimists" which will seek to create enclaves—fellowships?—where decency, humaneness, contemplation are practiced. "In 1917 Utopia seemed at hand. Today it is postponed for the duration of the interregnum. Let us build oases."

Koestler brings to bear a very wide and keen knowledge of science, philosophy, and modern literature—and a brilliant humor—on the problems with which his book deals. A. J. M.

Jane Addams Speaks

Peace and Bread in Time of War. By Jane Addams. King's Crown Press. 300 pages. $2.00.

As hunger and bitterness prowl again outside the fragile doors of a new international structure, the reappearance of an astoundingly prophetic book by Jane Addams is more than a literary event, it is literally a matter of life and death. Her suggestions about the dynamics of peacemaking were first published in 1922. Now they are being reissued to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

True before, her insights are blazingly true now, as AMG and UNRRA begin to straighten up the shambles, and as today's twisted children are growing into the soldiers of tomorrow's Fuehrer.

The only statement on international organization that John Dewey has made since this war began appears in the introductory essay for the new edition. In it he profoundly analyzes "Democratic versus Coercive International Organization." It is important and heartening news that the first printing of this edition has been entirely sold out and that another printing is pouring off the presses.

One finds here that the basis of Pres. Wilson's 14 points was a memorandum from the Women's Congress which Jane Addams submitted to him in 1915. Jane Addams was ahead of her time then. One dares not think that she may also be ahead of this time. E.D.

God's Family

Brotherhood Through Religion. By Paul N. Elbin. Dorrance & Co. 145 pages. $1.75.

This is not an original book—its points are so familiar that they are almost platitudes—but it is not a superfluous one. It tells truths that most men know but few have tested. Until they have been experienced as well as read, there cannot be too many repetitions of the truths that Dr. Elbin expresses this way:

"The brotherhood of man is the creed of all mature religion. Without the practice of brotherhood, peace is only a truce."

This is not a profound book, but for that very reason it is a useful one for those who are making their first shy steps toward this "mature religion." Dr. Elbin, the vigorous, youngish president of West Liberty State College in West Virginia, is adept at talking to young people, and he shows it in this primer for peacemakers.

It's lively with quote and anecdote, simple enough to be effective where a more subtle book might not. He makes precise suggestions for those who want to make a start finding friends among Negroes. He faces "the Jewish problem" in a straightforward, if somewhat shallow way. He says the truth bravely about that "tribal patriotism" which must be replaced by patriotism to the planet.

He has spoken out clearly for a concept of God as "the Spiritual Force in the universe uniting in noble purpose all human beings . . . There can be no atheism except the denial of brotherhood. When a man says, 'I believe in God,' he must mean also, 'I believe in the spiritual unity of the whole human family'." E.D.

FOR Field Secretaries

South: Constance Rumbough, 1804 Grand Avenue, Nashville 4, Tenn.; *Midwest:* Emerson Schwenk, 740 Rust Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Northwest:* Mary Farquharson, 4033 University Way, Seattle, Wash.; *Northern California:* Caleb Foote, 2151 Vine Street, Berkeley 7, Cal.; *Southwest:* Louise Rounds, 3302 S. Grand Ave., Los Angeles 27, Cal.; *Rocky Mountain:* Margaret Stewart, 440 E. 13th Ave., Denver 3, Colo.; *Action Projects:* George Houser, 7100 Kinsman Rd., Cleveland, Ohio.

Pro and Con

A PAGE OF COMMENT BY READERS

Readers are invited to contribute to this page. Please keep letters brief, since space is severely limited.

Credit to COs

The Editors,
Fellowship:

Two articles in the April *Fellowship* show us CPS camps through the eyes of men who have experienced their hardships. Neither writer feels the CO has made the contribution that he hoped to make. One of them blames the circumstances and conditions of the camps; the other blames the men themselves. I would like to contest both claims and take whatever blame there may be on the shoulders of those of us who are COs at heart but who because of age, sex, occupation, or physical condition walk the streets as free men and women. Let the CO see himself as we see him and he may feel differently about his witness.

We feel he is our representative. He stands for all of us who feel the way of war is not the right way. His refusal to take part in the war system and his presence in a CPS camp make him an active force in the struggle for the freedom of men. In his refusal to be part of the war machine he protests the use of conscripts for war in all countries. When enough men refuse to be used as tools of death there can be no more wars. It is because of this that governments fear and persecute the CO.

He may feel thwarted in CPS camp, as he cannot but be conscious of the great need of his services in other fields. Yet to some of us he seems to be making a contribution to humanity simply by being steadfast in his allegiance to spiritual forces, to the right means to the right end.

To some of us also it seems that the CO represents the spirit of the Church. Although there is reason to be happy over the thousands of ministers who registered their faith as pacifists, the Church has not taken as brave a part as she might in standing by her own. We wonder at churches, paying honor to the men who were forced into military service, and not honoring the men who remained loyal to the teachings they had received from the Church in their youth.

Surely the COs themselves must be a little conscious of their contribution to democracy. A visitor to a CPS camp looked with some surprise at the Negroes there. "How do colored men get along at CPS?" he asked. "How a man gets along here depends on the man," a camper answered simply. They are creating places in this country where it's the *man* who matters first.

Another contribution which CPS is making is in the understanding professional men are gaining there of the problems of labor. No one who has not worked at uncongenial manual labor eight hours a day, six days a week, can understand how laborers feel about their work.

The reproach that the CO is doing nothing for his country is at least as old as Diocletian. "These pitiful wretches," he said, as he watched a young Christian being torn to pieces by a lion, "enjoy the peace and splendor of Rome, but will not move a finger to protect or extend either." It is for those of us who know the CO's hopes and purposes to keep him constantly reassured concerning the value of his sacrifice.

If, according to the old definition, success is "facing in the right direction," he is succeeding as few others now are.

ELOISE HOLLETT DAVISON.

Taxes and War

The Editors,
Fellowship:

A subject frequently discussed among pacifists is the refusal to pay taxes as a means of refraining from supporting the war. But such discussion has been clouded by misconceptions regarding our tax structure, and therefore it may be helpful to review this problem.

In order to refuse to pay taxes, one would have to discontinue the use of all public transportation, cease to use the telephone and the post office, and would even have to get rid of such everyday conveniences as the automobile and the refrigerator. All of these things are taxed by the Federal government. I do not see how it is possible to refuse to contribute to the support of the Federal government short of emigrating from the United States, although perhaps a rugged pioneer might eke out an existence in primitive fashion without making use of any of the facilities of modern life which are the subject of taxation.

The taxes mentioned above cannot be refused because their payment is not within the choice of the consumer. The only tax which is self-assessed is the income tax. But even the income tax cannot be withheld unless all income and capital is disposed of so that nothing remains out of which the tax may be collected. If the refusing taxpayer has any property whatever, the government may seize it and apply it to payment of the tax plus heavy penalties and interest. In addition, wilful refusal to pay the tax is a crime punishable by imprisonment for one year, a fine of $10,000, or both. As a result, the government would collect far more for the prosecution of the war than if the tax had been voluntarily paid. Many taxpayers, however, do not have any choice in the matter, since the tax with respect to their wages is withheld by the employer. To this extent the income tax is no longer self-assessed and the opportunities for refusal to pay the tax are, therefore, quite limited.

Even assuming that income taxes could be successfully avoided, still the citizen will contribute heavily toward the war through involuntary taxes which cannot be avoided. It is not generally realized that income taxes normally furnish only a small part of the Federal revenue. The greater part of the Federal revenue is derived from taxes on corporations, liquor, tobacco, manufactured articles, public services such as transportation and communication, and from estate and gift taxes. Not only is corporate business taxed on its earning, but nearly every phase of the economic life of the community contributes in some way to the support of the Federal government.

I can well understand the desire to refuse to support the war in any way, but it seems to me that in the matter of taxes no choice is left to the individual, and he need feel no pangs of conscience.

JULIEN CORNELL.

Who's a Savage?

The Editors,
Fellowship:

I read in the *Mobile Register* for May 22 about hundreds of Japanese being set on fire in their caves by burning oil, and running about like human torches. This was caustically referred to as the "oil treatment."

Savagery of our enemies and of all men through history could hardly compete with that which we are practicing and condoning this very minute, and on a scale unprecedented.

It is right to be horrified by pictures in *Life* magazine of slaves burned to death while trying to squeeze their bodies under doors to get out of a building set on fire by the Germans. It is gross hypocrisy to be shocked by such actions while we ourselves shower incendiary bombs.

If we allow ourselves to inflict such agony we are a hundred times more responsible for it than the enemy. We are not a nation that must speak no, hear no, see no evil. We must speak. We must hear. We must act.

Can we pretend to uphold the concepts of the great conference: that nations should reason together and that aggressors should be outlawed, while we choose the way of might rather than negotiation, while we drive for unconditional surrender?

DOROTHY DA PONTE.

SUMMER READING

—and some're not, but we hope you're not among those who're not!

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